

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, WB, US, UK, UR, FR, GW, GE

SUBJ: FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF QA

1. SUMMARY: BOTH EAST AND WEST GIVE POSITIVE MARKS TO QA IN NUMEROUS COMMENTARIES ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS SIGNING. ONLY SOME CONSERVATIVE JOURNALISTS DISAGREE WITH CONCLUSION OF WEST BERLIN GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO GDR ABRASIMOV, SED POLITBURO MEMBER AXEN AND OTHERS WHO SAY THAT QA HAS PROVEN ITSELF IN PRACTICE. THIS AGREEMENT IS OF COURSE FOLLOWED BY "BUT" IN WHICH WEST GERMANS ACCUSE THE SOVIETS-GDR OF TWISTING THE AGREEMENT TO THEIR PURPOSE OF ISOLATING WEST BERLIN WHILE EASTERN COMMENTATORS SPEAK OF "CERTAIN CIRCLES IN FRG" OR ""IN WEST" WHO REFUSE TO LIVE UP TO QA. ALL COMMENTATORS HIGHLIGHT PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENT QA HAS BROUGHT TO BERLINERS. END SUMMARY.

2. WEST BERLIN GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ ISSUED STATEMENT SEPTEMBER 2 DECLARING IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO INTERPRET, CONFIDENTIAL

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SUPPLEMENT, OR CHANGE THE QA BY NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE

SIGNATORIES. RATHER, VIOLATIONS SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY USE OF MECHANISMS PROVIDED BY QA. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE "EASTERN SIDE" MAKES REPEATED DIFFICULTIES IN THE AREA OF BERLIN'S WITH THE FRG--BUT THOSE TIES ARE TO BE DEVELOPED AND MUST NOT BE CURTAILED. THE AGREEMENT HAS PROVEN ITSELF, MORE OR LESS IN SCHUETZ' VIEW. CDU BERLIN CHAIRMAN LORENZ ACCUSED THE GDR AND SOVIET UNION OF POLICIES DESIGNED TO WEAKEN BERLIN'S ABILITY TO SURVIVE; IN DOING SO THEY FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE QA: TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP BERLIN'S TIES WITH THE FRG.

BERLIN MAYOR AND ECONOMICS SENATOR WOLFGANG LUEDER FDP TERMED THE QA (AND INTER-GERMAN SUPPLEMENTAL AGREEMENTS) THE CORE AND TOUCHSTONE OF THE POLITICS OF DETENTE, AND EMPHASIZED THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QA LIES EQUALLY IN ITS CURRENT PRACTICAL APPLICATION AS IN INCREASED TIES WITH THE FRG.

3. EASTERN SIDE OF QUESTION HAS RECEIVED TREATMENT BY NOVOYA VREMIYA TASS AND IZVESTIYA AS WELL AS IN FOUR-COLUMN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ARTICLE BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO GDR ABRASIMOV AND IN SPEECH MADE TO SED POLITBURO BY HERMANN AXEN. IZVESTIYA STATES USSR DOES NOT WISH COMPLICATIONS AROUND WEST BERLIN BUT EMPHASIZES IT WOULD BE NAIVE TO BELIEVE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SOCIALIST ALLIES WOULD TOLERATE ANY EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE OR REVISE AGREEMENT. IN SAME VEIN, TASS REPEATS LONGSTANDING SOVIET CALL FOR STRICT ADHERENCE TO QA AND CHASTIZES "ENEMIES OF DETENTE" WHO WILL NOT LIVE BY ITS TERMS BUT CONTINUE TO SEEK TO TURN WEST BERLIN INTO POWDER KEG OF CENTRAL EUROPE. BOTH TASS AND IZVESTIYA DESCRIBE JUNGE UNION SPONSORED STERNFAHRT OF AUGUST 13 AS GROSS VIOLATION OF TRANSIT ARRANGEMENTS. IZVESTIYA ALSO COMMENTS THAT ATTEMPTS TO INCLUDE WEST BERLIN IN FRG TREATIES AND TO EXTEND TO BERLIN FRG LAWS WHICH DEAL WITH MATTERS OF SECURITY AND STATUS WILL DO NOTHING TO IMPROVE SITUATION IN BERLIN. NOVOYE VREMIYA EMPHASIZES IN SEPTEMBER 1 ARTICLE THAT QA RESTS ON THE CAREFUL BALANCING OF CONFLICTING WESTERN AND EASTERN INTERESTS AND, LIKE OTHER EASTERN COMMENTARIES, STRESSES SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF QA ONLY POSSIBLE IF WEST ACCEPTS THAT

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WEST BERLIN NOT PART OF FRG AND NOT TO BE GOVERNED BY IT. DESPITE REPEATED WESTERN VIOLATIONS, NOVOYE BREMIYA CONCLUDES, QA HAS SIGNAL PLACE IN SYSTEM OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO BROAD DEVELOPMENT OF PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE.

4. IN FOUR COLUMN ARTICLE ON BACK PAGE OF SEPTEMBER 3 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO GDR ABRASIMOV

ALSO FOUND THE QA, ON BALANCE, TO HAVE HAD "DOUBTLESS POSITIVE" RESULTS, BUT PREDICTABLY WARNED AGAINST EFFORTS TO EXPAND "THE SO-CALLED FEDERAL PRESENCE" IN BERLIN.

5. ABRASIMOV DESCRIBED QA AS HAVING DRAWN LINE UNDER LONG PERIOD OF CONFRONTATION AND FRICTION OVER WEST BERLIN AND NOTED IT HAD OPENED AN ERA IN DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELAXATION OF TENSIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. HOWEVER, HE WARNED AGAINST THE EFFORTS OF "CERTAIN WESTERN CIRCLES" TO INSIST THAT THE USSR AND GDR MUST ACCEPT A DEEPENING OF THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN. IN ABRASIMOV'S VIEW, QA IS CAREFUL BALANCE OF INTERESTS OF EAST AND WEST; IN OTHER WORDS, EACH SIDE ONLY FULFILLS ITS OBLIGATIONS TO EXTENT AND TO SAME DEGREE AS THE OTHER. IN MOST SPECIFIC PASSAGE, ABRASIMOV SAYS ON EC RELATIONS: "THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT PARTICIPATION OF WEST BERLIN IN ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EXTENSION OF COMPETENCIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO THIS CITY WOULD MEAN A REVISION OF THE STATUS OF WEST BERLIN AS IT HAS BEEN SET FORTH IN QA AND OTHER QUADRIPARTITE DECISIONS AND AGREEMENTS." ABRASIMOV'S ARTICLE, CLEARLY, CAREFULLY PREPARED, IS BLAND IN TONE AND IS DEFINITELY DESIGNED TO PROJECT POSITIVE VIEW OF SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF QA.

6. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND PRINTED IN SEPTEMBER 3 EDITION FULL TEXT OF LENGTHY SPEECH ON A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS DELIVERED BY HERMANN AXEN AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF SED IN WHICH AXEN CLAIMS THAT TRANSIT ROUTES ARE NOT NOW AND NEVER WERE "CORRIDORS" LINKING FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND WEST BERLIN. AXEN REPEATS GDR ARGUMENTATION THAT TRANSIT ACROSS GDR IS ONLY PERMISSIBLE

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IF IT IS CARRIED OUT IN ORDERLY AND NON-PROVOCATIVE FASHION. AXEN CALLS UPON FRG OFFICIALS TO PREVENT FUTURE MISUSE OF TRANSIT ROUTES IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE CONTINUED STABILITY IN AREA. AT SAME TIME AXEN EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOAL OF THE GDR REMAINED THAT EXPRESSED IN NINTH SED PARTY CONGRESS; GDR WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK GOOD RELATIONS WITH FRG AND WISHES TO AVOID COMPLICATIONS AROUND WEST BERLIN OR ALONG GDR-FRG FRONTIER. OTHER GDR COMMENTARIES STRESS POSITIVE RESULTS OF QA AND DRAW ATTENTION TO SMOOTH MANNER IN WHICH GDR HAS PROCESSED TRANSIT TRAFFIC OVER PAST FIVE YEARS.

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7. IN REACTION TYPICAL FOR CONVERSATIVE SPRINGER PRESS,  
BERLINER MORGENPOST EDITORIAL ENTITLED "FIVE YEARS  
AFTER" CONTENDS THAT IMPROVED PRACTICAL SITUATION IN BERLIN  
AND TRANSIT ARRANGEMENTS WHICH RESULTED FROM QA WERE  
PURCHASED AT TERRIBLY HIGH POLITICAL PRICE FOR BERLIN.  
NOTING THAT QA BASICALLY DEALS ONLY WITH THE FREE PART  
OF CITY, MORTENPOST CONTENDS THAT SIGNATURE OF AGREEMENT  
WROTE OFF CONCEPT OF BERLIN AS GERMAN CAPITAL CAUSING  
CITY TO LOSE ITS IDENTITY AND NATIONAL FUNCTION.  
MOREGENPOST LISTS NUMBER OF PROBLEM AREAS WHICH QA HAS NOT  
RESOLVED, E.G., INABILITY OF FRG TO INCLUDE WEST BERLIN  
IN TREATIES WITH SOVIETS, INABILITY OF GOVERNING  
MAYOR SCHUETZ TO TRAVEL TO MOSCOW EXCEPT AS HEAD OF  
"INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ENTITY," ETC., AND CONCLUDES  
THAT EAST IS USING PRESENT AGREEMENT AS STRATEGIC  
JUMPING OFF POINT FROM WHICH IT HOPES TO EFFECT A  
COMPLETELY NEW BERLIN "AGREEMENT" WHICH WILL "POLITICALLY  
EXECUTE" BERLIN.

8. DIFFERENT VIEW WAS PUT FORTH BY DIE ZEIT'S  
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JOACHIM NAWROCKI WHO LISTS THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE QA AND NOTES THAT MOST WESTERN OBSERVERS BELIEVE THEY OUTWEIGH THE DIFFICULTIES AND PROTESTS WHICH STAND IN THE WAY OF THE FULL APPLICATION OF THE TREATY. NOWROCKI THEN OBSERVES THAT IN CONTRAST TO FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN THE TREATY WAS REGARDED AS A "NEW BEGINNING" FOR BERLIN, IT IS NOW INTERPRETED AS A KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE AGREEMENT BRINGING IMPROVEMENTS TO WEST BERLIN DAILY LIFE.

9. COMMENT: WE FIND LITTLE SURPRISING IN THIS BASICALLY POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF QA AFTER FIVE YEARS. WHILE EAST AND WEST BOTH WANT MORE, THEY SEEM IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ THAT NO ONE WANTS TO RETURN TO THE PRE-1971 SITUATION WHEN THERE WAS NO QA AND RELATED AGREEMENTS TO REGULATE SO MANY BERLIN ISSUES.GEORGE

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